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Middle Eastern Lives



The Practice of Biography
and Self-Narrative

Edited by Martin Kramer



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8 A Sampler of Biography and Self-Narrative

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IN A comprehensive survey of Middle Eastern historiography written some fifteen years ago, the historian Albert Hourani determined that "there are almost no satisfactory biographies, even in the modern period."

That verdict is less apt today, for there are now numerous biographies, influenced by most major schools of biographical writing, that do satisfy more demanding tastes. Still, major gaps remain. The aim of this sampler is to direct the reader to a number of books in English that are representative of various approaches to biography and self-narrative. This selection is offered as an abbreviated guide to anyone who wishes to compare these approaches, and a practical reading list for courses on Middle Eastern biography, self-narrative, personalities, and leadership. The suggestions are for readers with a primary interest in the modern period. Preference is given to American over British editions; and to the most recent editions or reprints.

The best biographies of Middle Eastern subjects are those of political intellectuals—persons who shaped the ideas of nationalism, reformism, and revolution. The mark left by these figures was often more profound than that of the leaders and rulers who were their contemporaries. And unlike the leaders and rul-

ers; many political intellectuals have left private papers that thoroughly document the evolution of their ideas and politics.

The most prominent figure of this kind was Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani," reckoned as the intellectual precursor of many of the major trends in modern political thought—from reformism to fundamentalism, from nationalism to Pan-Islam. The amount of writing on Afghani is formidable, with even a published bibliography devoted to studies of him. This biographical endeavor culminated in Nikki R. Keddie's *Sayyid Jamal ad-Din "al-Afghani": A Political Biography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1972). Keddie's definitive book, which rests on detective work in many European and Middle Eastern archives, succeeded in dispelling the last wisps of fog that had obscured Afghani's life and works. It is instructive to compare the full biography to Keddie's article, "Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'al-Afghani': A Case of Posthumous Charisma?", in *Philosophers and Kings: Studies in Leadership*, ed. Dankwart A. Rustow (New York: Braziller, 1970), 148–79. In the article Keddie attempts "a psycho-historical analysis" of Afghani, drawing on theoretical literature on paranoia and its relationship to latent homosexuality. The speculative points made in the article were excluded from the full biography, perhaps because, as Keddie noted, "psychological analyses of heroes are often resented, and doubly so when a non-Muslim Westerner writes about a Muslim Easterner."

A second example, of comparable worth, is Hamid Algar's *Mirza Malkum Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1973), which painstakingly reconstructs the winding life of a leading Iranian Muslim reformer and reveals it to be some-

thing quite different than historians had hitherto assumed. The author's tone is clearly hostile toward his subject, who is cast in the role of manipulative charlatan, but the charlatanry is documented with impressive thoroughness.

Yet another example is William Cleveland's *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campaign for Islamic Nationalism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), a biography of still another Muslim intellectual and activist, who spent the decades between World War I and II in Geneva as a pamphleteer for Arab and Muslim independence. This study tends to extend the benefit of the doubt to the subject, who was enmeshed in intricate and compromising alliances. The language of the book, however, is a model of balance, and the archival research is thorough. Cleveland, it should be noted, is perhaps the only historian of the modern Middle East to regard himself as a biographer. He is the author of an earlier study of another political intellectual, *The Making of an Arab Nationalist: Ottomanism and Arabism in the Life and Thought of Sati' al-Husri* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); Cleveland is now preparing a biography of George Antonius.

There are a number of other stimulating biographies of intellectuals. Particularly noteworthy is the study by Charles D. Smith, *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), which is presented as a "social biography." Two examples of shorter studies, which fall, somewhere between biography and intellectual portraiture, are Uriel Heyd's *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism: The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac, 1950) and Irene L. Gendzicht's *The Practical Visions of Ya'qub Sanu'* (Cambridge:

Harvard University Press, 1966). Many of the most important figures in Middle Eastern intellectual history have not yet had their lives written in English, including such central thinkers as Muhammad 'Abduh and Rashid Rida. There are, however, shorter sketches of such thinkers, the best known being Albert Hourani's *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

Autobiographies by intellectuals are numerous, but the available English translations are few. Particularly valuable, therefore, are Salama Musa's *The Education of Salama Musa* (Leiden: Brill, 1961) and Ahmad Amin's *My Life: The Autobiography of an Egyptian Scholar, Writer and Cultural Leader* (Leiden: Brill, 1978). One such work that has always been one of the most popular books for the teaching of Arabic in America is Taha Husayn's autobiography, published in parts and in various editions as *An Egyptian Childhood*, *The Stream of Days*, and *A Passage to France*. Recently the book has been reinterpreted in Fedwa Malti-Douglas's *Blindness and Autobiography: Al-Ayyam of Taha Husayn* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), a work that also has much to say on broader questions of self-narrative.

The modern rulers and leaders of the Middle East have been less well served by biographers. In many cases, the necessary source materials are inaccessible, even for rulers whose dynasties have long since disappeared. None of the major modernizing rulers of the nineteenth century has been the subject of a first-rate biography, although the lives of some have been sketched as part of an overall discussion of their reforms. Noteworthy among such works are the studies by Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Sultan Se-*

lim III, 1789-1807 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); by L. Carl Brown, *The Tunisia of Ahmad Bey, 1837-1855* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974); and by Afaf Lutfi Sayyid-Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad Ali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). In each of these books, a powerful individual stands at center stage, although none of these studies is conceived or executed as a full biography. The limitations in writing about palace lives are perhaps best evoked by Franz Babinger in his monumental *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978): "It is even more difficult to obtain a reliable portrait of Mehmed the man than of Mehmed the ruler. Any attempt to derive a complete picture of his character and personality from the statements of contemporaries and chance observers is a hazardous undertaking. Nearly everything that was said of him in his lifetime reflected either boundless, slavish admiration and deification or hatred and contempt." In such circumstances, the custom has always been to write not just the life but the times, often with emphasis on the latter.

The last and most visible of the palace lives, those lived in the last decades of the nineteenth century, could prove to be exceptions, but they have not yet received scholarly attention. Perhaps the most compelling among them is the "Red Sultan," Abdülhamid II—the remarkable product of a once-great Ottoman palace system in decline, and a personality marked by calculating shrewdness and scarred by fear. His life has inspired a few biographical studies by amateurs. Alma Wittlin's *Abdul Hamid: The Shadow of God* (London: John Lane the Bodley Head, 1940) presents itself as a "psychological study," based "especially on the unpublished testimony of persons who once

formed a part of the Sultan's entourage—members of the imperial family, officials, palace-secretaries, Sons of members of the Government and women of the Harem." This work has been described more than once as a biographical novel, although it is not without art. The later book by Joan Haslip, *The Sultan: The Life of Abdul Hamid II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), does not take the story much further. The richness of the Ottoman archives, with the large number of administrative and personal documents that the sultan himself generated, now makes Abdülhamid II a prime candidate for a scholarly biography. Nasir al-Din Shah, the Qajar ruler of Iran during roughly the same period, is an equally worthy subject for a biography, and one is now reportedly in preparation by Abbas Amanat. This potential is ably evoked by Ehsan Yar-Shater in "Observations on Nasir al-Din Shah," in *Qajar Iran*, ed. E. Bosworth and C. Hillenbrand (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1983), 3-13. There are still no scholarly biographies of the ambitious Khedives Isma'il and Abbas Hilmi of Egypt.

The rulers and leaders who rose to preeminence after the collapse of the Ottoman and Qajar empires have inspired a number of amateur and journalistic biographies. Fewer scholarly biographies have been attempted and the distinction between the two approaches is often quite striking. Although historians prefer documentary materials and sometimes would rather wait until their subject has spoken his or her last, journalists are most at home with the interview and actually prefer to examine living and breathing subjects. The great merit of journalistic biographies is that they often contain rare information and insights. Often they are beautifully written and are free of theo-

rizing jargon. Their principal defect is their tendency to judge their subjects with sometimes unabashed partisanship, and always with haste (for journalists must rush to press). It is often a worthwhile exercise to compare biographies by journalists, written at close range, to accounts of the same lives written by scholars more remote from their subjects. The instances that lend themselves to direct comparison are few but will be noted below.

For the Arab Fertile Crescent, many major figures have not yet found their biographers. Particularly striking is the absence of serious biographies for the Hashemites, including Sharif (later King) Husayn and his son Faysal, who ruled briefly in Damascus and established the (short-lived) Hashemite dynasty in Baghdad. Lord Birdwood's *Nuri as-Said: A Study in Arab Leadership* (London: Cassell, 1959) is an openly sympathetic account of one of Faysal's chief lieutenants, based on long talks with the subject. The author, however, chose to avoid inquiry into "the details of family life," because they were of "little interest" to the subject himself, and "I would rather this record was in accordance with the wishes of the great man concerned than that it should offer sensational attraction"—a remarkable concession for any biographer to make to a subject. Later rulers in Baghdad still have few biographers. Uriel Dann's *Iraq under Qassem: A Political History, 1958-1963* (New York: Praeger, 1969) sets the man in his context but is not intended as a full biography. A line of biographers of Saddam Husayn formed quickly after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990. The best of these works to date is Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi's *Saddam Hussein: A Political Biography* (New York: Free Press, 1991).

Jordan's more enduring branch of the Hashemite line has

been considered in Mary C. Wilson's *King Abdullah, Britain and the Making of Jordan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). This is a hostile portrait of an 'Abdallah consumed by an ambition that ultimately consumed Palestine as well. However, the work does not pretend to be a full biography and sketches 'Abdallah only in such detail as its argument requires. For King Husayn, there is only James Lunt's *Hussein of Jordan: Searching for a Just and Lasting Peace* (New York: Morrow, 1989). Lunt does "not doubt that my admiration for the King will be evident"—so much so that he is compelled to add that the biography was not commissioned, although it was "written with the King's agreement."

Two biographies of Syria's president, Hafiz al-Asad, provide an opportunity to compare the work of journalist and scholar. Patrick Seale's *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989) is "not an official biography" but one very much indebted to the personal rapport established between the journalist and his subject. Contrast this with Moshe Ma'oz's *Asad: The Sphinx of Damascus* (New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1988), written at double the distance by an Israeli academic. Few Lebanese leaders have inspirational qualities that transcend sect, but the life of one has been artfully told in Fouad Ajami's *The Vanished Imam: Musa al-Sadr and the Shia of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986). The author has based his work largely on interviews with those who were close to his subject, and the portrait is admiring but not overbearing.

It is difficult to say the same for the work done on Palestinian leaders. Philip Mattar's *The Mufti of Jerusalem: Muhammad Amin al-Husayni and the Palestine Question* (New York: Co-

lumbia University Press, 1988) strikes one possible balance of interpretation but is very thin on important and controversial chapters in the mufti's life. Thomas Kiernan's *Arafat: The Man and the Myth* (New York: Norton, 1976) creates a few myths of its own by getting facts wrong. Alan Hart's *Arafat: A Political Biography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) casts its subject in a heroic light; this work is an "epic story" cataloging the "miracle of his leadership" and has embarrassed even some of Arafat's admirers. For Arafat's Palestinian rivals, little material is available. An example of the rather dubious genre of the intelligence biography, which relies on privileged leaks, is Yossi Melman's *The Master Terrorist: True Story of Abu Nidal* (New York: Adama Books, 1986).

Nowhere have the amateur biographers served their subjects so uncritically as in their accounts of the House of Saud. David Howarth's *The Desert King: A Life of Ibn Saud* (London: Collins, 1964) is the most independent-minded study of the founder of the present kingdom, and still it lionizes the "desert king" and mourns the corruption of his heirs. Those heirs have not been examined by discriminating eyes, but the existing studies do include much useful grist. Such is the case with Gerald de Gaury's *Faisal: King of Arabia* (London: Arthur Barker, 1966), which salutes Saudi Arabia's "good fortune in having Faisal, the boy from Najd, now King, as guide." Vincent Sheean's *Faisal: The King and His Kingdom* (Tavistock, England: Butler, 1975) was written out of personal friendship, and this fact clearly shows. Biography by "friends" is perhaps the inevitable first step on the road to more diverse representations but is arguably more an obstacle than a useful preface to critical work.

King Faruq of Egypt has yet to find his biographer, although he would make a fascinating subject given his popular reputation for extravagance and debauchery—and the more important fact that his reign was pivotal to Egypt's transformation by revolution. A rather uneven first effort is Barrie St. Clair McBride's *Farouk of Egypt* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1968). In contrast, Nasser has been the subject of many biographies, both by journalists and scholars. There is, for example, Jean Lacouture's *Nasser, A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1973), a lucid account colored, as he says, with a "critical sympathy" for Nasser. Compare it to P. J. Vatikiotis's *Nasser and His Generation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1978), which is longer on criticism and shorter on sympathy. Nasser's successor is virtually skewered in David Hirst and Irene Beeson's *Sadat* (London: Faber and Faber, 1981), a work by two journalists that is sometimes little more than an eloquent diatribe against their subject. "Sadat was by no means the world's most absolute ruler," they write, "but his career illustrated, in a remarkable way, how far the personal can predominate over the political and, when the personal is as peculiar as it was in him, what perversities, in the name of policy, can then ensue." Contrast this with Raphael Israeli's *Man of Defiance: A Political Biography of Anwar Sadat* (Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), which claims only to evoke Sadat's "thinking, his hesitations, his fears, his images and the reasoning behind his acts," without "delving into value judgments of any sort." Still, this work finds him more hero than buffoon.

Atatürk is the subject of a vast amount of biographical writing in Turkish and of two important biographies in English. Lord Kinross's *Atatürk* (New York: Morrow, 1965) is an im-

pressively researched biography that draws on the recollections of many who knew and worked under Atatürk. Its perspective is naturally admiring. The study by Vamik D. Volkan and Norman Itzkowitz, *The Immortal Atatürk: A Psychobiography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), is no less admiring of Atatürk's achievements but seeks to establish a very different explanation of motive by its reliance on psychoanalytic theory.

For Atatürk's Iranian contemporary, Reza Shah, there is nothing comparable. Donald N. Wilber's *Riza Shah Pahlavi: The Resurrection and Reconstruction of Iran, 1878-1944* (Hicksville, N.Y.: Exposition Press, 1975) is an uninspired narrative. Farhad Diba's *Mohammad Mossadegh: A Political Biography* (London: Croom Helm, 1986) is a straightforward narrative based on Mossadegh's writings and on British and American archives. Mossadegh, a complex man, now warrants still more complex treatment. A different approach has been taken in Marvin Zonis's *Majestic Failure: The Fall of the Shah of Iran* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), which addresses Mohammad Reza Shah's conduct during the Iranian revolution from a psychoanalytic vantage point. Although the book is not intended as a full biography, it does develop an innovative line of biographical inquiry. At present, Ayatollah Khomeini is the subject only of journalistic treatments: Amir Taheri's *The Spirit of Allah: Khomeini and the Islamic Revolution* (Bethesda, Md.: Adler and Adler, 1986) and Baqer Moin's *Khomeini: Sign of God* (London: Tauris, 1991). Hamid Algar and Marvin Zonis are reportedly working on more thorough studies. In the meantime, it is useful to compare two sketches of Khomeini's early years, one by Michael M. J.

Fischer, "Imam Khomeini: Four Levels of Understanding," in *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, ed. John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 150-74; and the less-speculative and more reverential interpretation by Hamid Algar, "Imam Khomeini, 1902-1962: The Pre-revolutionary Years," in *Islam, Politics, and Social Movements*, ed. Edmund Burke III and Ira M. Lapidus (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 263-88.

Such biographical portraiture pretends to less than full biography, although the penetrating portrait can be a miniature work of art in the right hands. Majid Khadduri offers two volumes of (rather uncritical) sketches of Middle Eastern leaders: *Arab Contemporaries: The Role of Personalities in Politics* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) and *Arab Personalities in Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Middle East Institute, 1981). More recently, a collection of sketches of Middle Eastern leaders, relating personality to performance in a single crisis, has been assembled by Barbara Kellerman and Jeffrey Z. Rubin, eds, *Leadership and Negotiation in the Middle East* (New York: Praeger, 1988). Finally, over seventy sketches by almost as many hands have been collected by Bernard Reich, ed. *Political Leaders of the Contemporary Middle East and North Africa: A Biographical Dictionary* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990). The entries are substantial enough to warrant description as sketches and include short bibliographies, providing a useful starting point for students seeking inspiration for assignments.

Students interested in Middle Eastern rulers and leaders should also give due attention to the self-serving autobiographies and memoirs of these leaders, such as Ismail Kemal Bey's

The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey (London: Constable, 1920); Djemal Pasha's *Memories of a Turkish Statesman, 1913-1919* (New York: Arno Press, 1973); King Abdallah's *Memoirs of King Abdallah of Transjordan* (London: Cape, 1950) and the sequel, *My Memoirs Completed "Al Takmilah"* (New York: Longman, 1978); King Husayn's *Uneasy Lies the Head: The Autobiography of His Majesty King Hussein I of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan* (New York: Bernard Geis Associates, 1962); Anwar Sadat's *In Search of Identity: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1978); Mohammad Reza Shah's *Mission for My Country* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) and his *Answer to History* (New York: Stein and Day, 1980); and Abu Iyad's *My Home, My Land*, written with Eric Rouleau (New York: Times Books, 1981). The list could be lengthened considerably:

Beyond the world of thinkers and leaders are the men and women usually excluded from history, people who, despite their obscurity, can personify a social order or revolution from below. This kind of telling is often associated with anthropology but also has been done by journalists and even historians. One example of this approach is Dale F. Eickelman's *Knowledge and Power in Morocco: The Education of a Twentieth-Century Notable* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), which is an anthropologist's view of the way political and social change is played out in the life of one learned man. Roy Mottahedeh's *The Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985) is a historian's telling of the life of an Iranian cleric, one "Ali Hashemi"—"a real person whose wish to remain anonymous I have scrupulously respected." The account is intermingled with discursive

asides on Perso-Islamic history and contemporary Iranian culture. Richard Critchfield's *Shabbat: An Egyptian* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978) is a journalist's account of events in a young villager's life, as witnessed by the author or recounted to him, a study that borders on literature. "In the end," writes Critchfield, "all study of human beings lies in a borderland between science and art and the difference between the journalist and the anthropologist is one of degree; one mixes some science with his art, the other some art with his science." This apology has not been universally accepted. The book should be read with the article by Timothy Mitchell, "The Invention and Reinvention of the Egyptian Peasant," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 22 (May 1990): 129-30, a critique that accuses Critchfield of racism, plagiarism, and ahistoricism (this last charge, of course, being the privilege of the historian). This article will not be the last word in the controversy.

The amount of published self-narrative by the people overlooked by history is small, and even less is available in English translation. These works include Reşat Nuri Güntekin's *The Autobiography of a Turkish Girl*, trans. Wyndham Deedes (London: Allen and Unwin, 1949), and Muhammad 'Ali Jamālzādeh's *Isfahan Is Half the World: Memories of a Persian Boyhood*, trans. W. L. Heston (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). A self-narrative, of course, need not be literary, or even the work of a literate person; it can sometimes be presented through the mediation of a listener. One example is Vincent Crapanzano's *Tuhmi: Portrait of a Moroccan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), a highly experimental account of the author's encounter with an illiterate Moroccan

Arab tilemaker. Most of the text is an annotated self-narrative by Tuhami himself, a revelation rich in allusion and embellishment, so that *Tuhami* is as much a self-portrait as a portrait. The serious student of biography will want to range even further for comparisons and inspiration, from biographical writing on subjects in other cultural contexts to the burgeoning theoretical and methodological literature and the specialized journals devoted to biography. Any interested reader will have no difficulty finding a point of entry into this literature. A beginning can be made in the outstanding periodic bibliography of the quarterly journal *Biography*, which is published by the Biographical Research Center. Less-systematic inspiration can be had by browsing in specialty bookstores, like New York's *Biography Bookshop*.

Supplementary reading may be found in the biographies of the many figures from beyond the Middle East who left their impress on the history of the region. Notable among these figures are the English, from proconsuls to travelers, who made careers of the Middle East. Their diaries and letters, often preserved in their entirety, have supported some impressively thorough (and readable) biographies. An example is Elizabeth Longford's *A Pilgrimage of Passion: The Life of Wilfrid Scawen Blunt* (New York: Knopf, 1980). The late Lady Longford was one of the most prolific biographers of Victorian subjects. Among the fifty or so biographies of T. E. Lawrence, the most important landmarks are the passionately hostile assault by Richard Aldington, *Lawrence of Arabia: A Biographical Inquiry* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1976); the psychobiography by John E. Mack, *A Prince of Our Disorder: The Life of T. E. Lawrence* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1978); and the massive,

narrative by Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorized Biography of T. E. Lawrence* (New York: Atheneum, 1990), which is meant to save Lawrence from the debunkers and psychologizers. These should be read in conjunction with Elie Kedourie's "Colonel Lawrence and His Biographers," in Kedourie's *Islam and the Modern World* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1981), 261-75—largely a refutation of Mack's work. Another landmark biography is Elizabeth Monroe's *Philby of Arabia* (London: Faber and Faber, 1973). H. V. F. Winstone has made the biography of the English among the Arabs into his special trade, by writing *Captain Shakespear: A Portrait* (New York: Quartet Books, 1978), *Gertrude Bell* (New York: Quartet Books, 1978), and *Leachman: "QC Desert": The Life of Lieutenant-Colonel Gerard Leachman D.S.O.* (New York: Quartet Books, 1982). The reader will also find many subtle sketches of the English in the Middle East; among the most evocative are Albert Hourani's essays on Wilfrid Scawen Blunt and H. A. R. Gibb, in his *Europe and the Middle East* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980).

Not to be overlooked are the many biographies of Zionist leaders, who left behind vast collections of intimate materials that have inspired several modern, thoroughly documented biographies. On Theodor Herzl are the studies by Amos Elon, *Herzl* (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), and by Ernst Pawel, *The Labyrinth of Exile: A Life of Theodor Herzl* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989). These may be supplemented with the provocative sketch by Peter Loewenberg, "Theodor Herzl: Nationalism and Politics," in his *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University

sity of California Press, 1985), 101-35. So rich is the documentation for the lives of many Zionist leaders that many of their biographers have produced multivolume works. Particularly noteworthy are the first volumes published by Jehuda Reinharz, *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), and by Shabtai Teveth, *Ben-Gurion: The Burning Ground, 1886-1948* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987). Additional volumes will follow. Anita Shapira's *Berl: The Biography of a Socialist Zionist* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985) is an English distillation of a larger multivolume biography in Hebrew, and an example of the full potential of intellectual biography. And on and on, ad (almost) infinitum.